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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

UNOFFICIAL JOURNAL ARTICLE LOOKS AT THEORETICAL ISSUES

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 12, 9 Sep 79 pp 27-37 HK

[Article by Xu Shuiliang [1776 3055 5328]: "Questions and Answers on Theoretical Issues"]

[Text] [Brief background on the writer: Xu Shuiliang is a worker of the Nanjing Pharmaceutical Plant and a university graduate. In 1975, because he wrote big-character posters in Nanjing Municipality entitled "Questions and Answers on Theoretical Issues," "Letters to 'Hongqi'" and "Oppose Special Privileges," he became a key target for criticism by the former Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee and was later thrown into prison. It was not until the rise of the socialist democracy movement throughout the country this year that he was released. The article "Questions and Answers on Theoretical Issues" carried here is slightly abridged. We hope that the readers will take into consideration the historical background at that time when reading it. It was really commendable that such an excellent article which is so easy to understand and which struck at the ills at the time was written.]

I have already said it. I have saved by soul--Karl Marx: "Critique of the Gotha Program"

A asked: Neither of us are members of the "force of theorists." However, I personally have always wanted to obtain a clear picture of theoretical issues. There are many issues on which I am not clear and among them, many are issues which the masses are generally concerned about. I, therefore, would like to consult you for answers. May I do so?

B answered: I have not studied very well. Let us discuss them together.

A asked: At present, many people, for instance many workers in our factory, said: "It is no use studying theory. Theory will not work." They also said: "The major principles will not solve problems." Therefore, many people have adopted a skeptical and negative attitude toward studying theory. I have also come across some intellectuals and some of them said the same thing. Is this correct?

B answered: Is the skeptical and negative attitude a general phenomenon?

A: Yes.

B: The situation in other places is quite similar. The emergence of this kind of thinking is a manifestation of the practical situation people's heads. [as printed] It is true to say that some of our past theories were incorrect and did not work. However, we must never derive from this the false idea of doubting and negating all theories and hence say that it is no use studying theory and that theory will not work. The fact that certain theories do not work can only demonstrate that there are mistakes. Our task is to analyze the mistake and find a correct theory which "will work." Many workers and other masses said this because our theoretical circles talk about certain theories (which are also the "major principles") and the basic-level organs do something else. This situation only demonstrates that there is a certain gap between our theory and practice, and not that correct theories which are in line with the practical situations are of no use and will not work.

Since people are skeptical about certain past theories (they "will not work") and do not see any theory which they trust and "will work," it is inevitable that they will develop a skeptical and negative attitude toward theory.

A: Well, your words are too bold. Are you not afraid of being branded a counterrevolutionary? I would advise you to be more careful in the future. However, since there are only two of us here today, you may talk frankly about it. I assure you that what you say will be kept in strict confidence. You said that there were mistakes in our past theories. Where did the mistakes lie?

B: Thank you for your kind-hearted advice. Many people have in fact given me the same advice. However, hypocrisy is by no means a true quality of the proletariat and truth can never be chopped down with an axe. Those social realities which compel people to behave hypocritically will subsequently be eliminated by the angry masses.

A: This may be the major principle, yet it is still better to be careful. We must pay attention to the tactics.

B: You are right. We must pay attention to the tactics.

To sum up in one sentence, the mistakes in our past theories resulted from the existence of an idealist system of theory. It exists mainly in the issue of socialist revolution.

A: Please be a bit more specific. Give me some examples.

B: Take for example the mistakes in the theories of innate genius and the successor, the mistakes in summing up the issue of preventing restoration as the issue of the capitalist-roads and hence the issue

of the "leadership groups," the mistake in describing the struggle between two lines in the party as the principal contradiction in socialist society and also the current mistake in the theory of rights. All these mistakes, and other mistakes which I have not mentioned, constitute a systematic idealist system. The theories of our theoretical circles are often founded on the basis of idealist mistakes, beating about the bush within the limits of idealism.

A: Ah! This is the first time I ever heard such words. I hope you will explain in more detail.

B: Chairman Mao taught us: "A correct understanding often has to go through a repeated process from the material world to the mental world and then from the mental world to the material world and from practice to understanding and then from understanding to practice before it can be attained." The mistakes of our theoretical circles also constitute a historical process. It is an erring process of repeated understanding in the process of gradual progress toward correct and perfect understanding.

Before the great debate in the international communist movement, we had already launched some struggles against revisionism. As soon as the great debate in the international communist movement began, there was a complete divergence of views between us and the Soviet revisionists. It was in this struggle that we discovered that the CPSU had become revisionist and its state had changed its color. We learned that we must adopt effective measures to prevent the restoration of capitalism. It was during the processes of finding out the causes for the restoration of capitalism and adopting the corresponding preventive measures that our theoretical circles have, apart from discovering many correct things, made a number of mistakes at the same time.

I would like to note here that in our account we have adopted the terminology and descriptive method which we have become accustomed to and not the strict scientific terminology and descriptive method. After we go through the process of understanding of our past theoretical circles and find the correct theory and then come back to make further explanations and analyses, we will adopt the systematic and scientific method of description. I hope you will notice this point.

A: You mean to say that the account here is crude and probably includes many mistakes of habit. Is that right?

B: Yes.

We discovered that after Khrushchev came to power the Soviet Union became revisionist. Here I have followed the customary description used then. As a matter of fact, the revisionist change was quite ready during the Stalin era. What was missing was only the change in the supreme leadership power and also its reaction on the practical society after such a change, hence carrying the process of the revisionist change through to

the end. At the same time, we also discovered that Khrushchev played a very significant role in the process of the revisionist change. As a result, many people in our theoretical circles held that the Soviet Union turned revisionist because Khrushchev came to power. Therefore, preventing revisionist change involves solving the problem of the successor. Through the propaganda of Lin Biao and his clique during the cultural revolution, this kind of theory went deep into the hearts of almost everyone in the country. I myself was once a disciple of this kind of theory. However, it is an out-and-out theory of innate genius. Moreover, it requires a naked theory of innate genius to be its philosophical foundation. Hence, I also struggled amid this kind of theory of innate genius, vainly doing so without being able to get away from the mysticism of these idealist theories.

However, things will develop in the opposite direction when they become extreme. The self-explosion of Lin Biao quickly emancipated the masses from the ideological shackles of the theories of innate genius and the successor. When the astonished masses awoke, the beautiful illusion of the theories of innate genius and the successor, which Lin Biao and his clique hanged before them and which they once were made to firmly believe, was quickly blown up and dissipated. Even though the ropes of the theories of innate genius and the successor have more or less tied up many people, all attempts to restore the theories of innate genius and the successor by those new bureaucrats who vainly attempted to inherit the legacy of Lin Biao have been futile efforts. They have further aroused the resentment of the masses. During the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, those new bureaucrats unscrupulously preached and practiced this kind of theory of the successor in Zhejiang and other places. Posing as the successors, this group of new bureaucrats also vigorously developed their fascist dictatorship. In our newspapers and journals, they used the past to disparage the present. They talked all sort of nonsense such as describing the destruction of the Qin Dynasty as the restoration of Zhao Gao, saying that the destruction was a succession issue and so on to vigorously formulate the fallacy of the theory of the successor, which served their attempts of usurpation of power and restoration. However, this kind of activity was destined to fail. It was despised and opposed by the masses. The victory of the people of Zhejiang and the disastrous defeat of the new bureaucrats was a great victory of the materialists and a disastrous defeat of the theories of innate genius and the successor. The deep-rooted resentment and opposition of the people of Zhejiang toward the new bureaucrats of Zhejiang and their backstage boss will definitely be the attitude adopted by the people of our country toward the new bureaucrats.

A: How is the situation of your rebellious group in Nanjing?

B: The "rebellious group" is not a class, nor is it a sheet of iron. There is a true rebellious group of the proletariat, a sham one of the new bureaucrats and also a "rebellious group" of local ruffians and hooligans which puts up a banner of "rebellion" but opposes the existing

political power. The revolutionaries and revolutionary masses of Nanjing do not have the problem of two major groups in opposition and are therefore relatively unanimous. Since the class instinct of the working class is also relatively outstanding, the theories of the new bureaucrats play a relatively minor role. However, their resentment is not so great because they have relatively little personal knowledge and a relatively superficial understanding of the new bureaucrats and their theory of the successor.

Let us now continue.

Of course, a social problem is by no means the problem of one man. At the same time, since many problems of the "capitalist roaders within the party" were revealed during the initial period of the socialist education movement and the cultural revolution, there appeared shortly after the emergence of the theory of the successor a theory which summed up the causes for revisionist change as a "capitalist roader" issue and issues concerning the leadership groups and leadership power. This theory became the theoretical foundation of many of our newspapers and journals during the great cultural revolution and even up till now. This kind of theory is merely a further expansion and implementation of the previous theories on innate genius and the successor. They are idealist all the same. Our theoretical circles have completely misunderstood and misinterpreted Chairman Mao's relevant instructions. They do not know that "capitalist roaders" are produced from the actual society. They are the products of a definite social relationship, that is, the capitalist social relationship in the actual society. Under certain conditions, "capitalist roaders"--or, more correctly, privileged revisionist aristocrats, a privileged class and privileged elements--will also join the process of restoration as a deciding factor. If we completely reverse this kind of relationship and erase the deciding process in which the actual social relationship, that is, the currently existing capitalist relationship, has produced capitalist roaders, then what is left will only be the reaction of capitalist roaders on the actual society. The case will not be that the actual social relationship produces capitalist roaders, but that capitalist roaders produce the actual social relationship (that is, capitalism). That is to say, capitalist restoration is caused by capitalist roaders. Such is the idealist theory in our newspapers and journals. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, it was inevitable that this kind of theory failed in the test of practice and was thereby doubted and negated by the masses. Once the "capitalist roaders" depart from their actual foundation, they become water without a source or a tree without roots, and nobody is able to obtain a clear picture of what sort of things they are. If we preserve the actual social relationships and the relationship of special privileges which produce capitalist roaders, that is, privileged revisionist aristocrats, the new capitalist roaders and aristocrats will be produced even though the old capitalist roaders and aristocrats may be struck down. It is very much like the situations in capitalist countries where, amid the preservation of the old capitalist social relation, the capitalists who are struck down are replaced by a group of new people.

In this case, the society will never make any steps forward. The only thing that happens is that old capitalists are replaced by new ones. Nevertheless, our new bureaucrats have done their best to uphold this kind of theory and vigorously discussed the issue of leadership groups based on this kind of theory. Under currently existing capitalist social relationships and the relationship of special privileges, their aim is also to vigorously pursue a redistribution of power. As a matter of fact, they have used new bureaucrats to replace veteran cadres who have more or less retained the revolutionary tradition. They are trying to seize power from the older generation of revolutionaries. In this way, the more changes made, the worse the situation will become; the faster the changes, the faster the revisionist changes will be—just as has been demonstrated by many current facts. History is merciless. It will certainly render this kind of theory increasingly and then completely bankrupt in our future practice.

Accompanying this kind of theory are Lin Biao's capitalist concepts of political power that "the leadership group is the political power," "never forget the word 'power,'" and "when you get political power you get everything." To oppose the fallacies of Lin Biao, Chairman Mao proposed after the second plenum of the Ninth CCP Central Committee that "whether the ideological and political line is correct or not determines everything." However, following their habit of only quoting the sentences of the great teacher without understanding the spiritual essence, our theoretical circles have completely distorted this instruction of Chairman Mao. They have unscrupulously peddled all kinds of idealist fallacies such as "the line is the foundation and the leadership is the key link." As a matter of fact, many of our current theories are built on the foundation of this kind of idealist mistake, and many practices are carried out under the guidance of this kind of idealist theory.

A: I have never thought about whether the statement "the line is the foundation and the leadership is the key link" is correct or not. I just take it as a natural view and cite it. Where does its mistake lie?

B: Marx and Marxism have never acknowledged any so-called natural theories and views. All theories and views must be tested in practice as well as scientifically analyzed in theory.

All specific truths are relative truths. That is to say, they are truths under certain definite conditions. Going beyond definite conditions, the truths might become fallacies.

The statement "whether the ideological and political lines are correct or not determine everything" merely states that, when the objective conditions allow and after the revolutionary orientation is determined, the success of the revolutionary actions of the people (classes, groups and political parties) is determined by the ideological and political lines they adopt. Just as in our discussion below, the line itself is determined by practical

objective situations and the objective law of historical development. Moreover, the statement that the line determines everything merely states that it plays a decisive role in the overall situation. This is so because winning a victory in revolution depends not only on being correct in the overall situation and line, but also on being correct in various specific parts. We require both correct policies and tactics along with correct specific actions. It is just the same as winning a certain battle--we require current tactics as well as correct strategy.

These principles are simple and clear to Marxists, and hence any explanation on the limits of conditions has been omitted. However, our theoretical circles can never see this kind of limit [words indistinct]

Definite lines are often the manifestation of definite actual objective struggles. Correct ideological, political and economic lines are manifestations of the objective laws of historical development. That is to say, a definite line is determined by a definite social relationship and a definite objective law of historical development, rather than the other way round. It is not that a definite line determines the actual struggle and the objective law of historical development. When our theoretical circles vainly attempted to reverse this kind of relationship and described the line as something fundamental and as the "foundation" which determines the actual relationship, the actual struggle and historical development and regarded the "reaction" as the "action," and when they consciously or unconsciously denied the process that actual struggle determines the line and broke away from the actual foundation of the line, that is, the true foundation of the so-called "foundation," they turned the line into something intangible, something nobody could obtain a clear picture of, an illusion without a base. This kind of action will lead nowhere except toward abstract mysticism. Idealism will definitely lead to mysticism.

A: Right, right. The common people, for instance the workers in our factory, have said: "Who knows about the struggle between two lines"... "they are matters which concern the big cadres." The newspapers have also said: "Line struggle is something hard to discern." These views are in fact very popular. They all reflect mysticism.

B: That is right. On the one hand, they are the manifestation of certain special privilege politics; on the other hand, they reflect the mysticism caused by the "theory of the line being the foundation." "Who knows!" This outcry has also expressed the great resentment of the masses toward the above two things.

People know that in accordance with the materialist view, the material world is fundamental, while the spiritual world is a manifestation of the material world. However, idealist philosophers have transposed these two things. They have obliterated the process in which materials determine images, that is, spirit; on the contrary, they have taken

images, that is, spirit, as the most fundamental things and have described materials as the products of spirit. On the one hand, our newspapers and journals have opposed idealist philosophers; on the other hand, they have committed their mistakes once again. They have acted in exactly the same way as the idealist philosophers. They have taken the manifestations of actual struggles and the objective laws of history, that is, the issue of line, as the foundation, the "foundation" which determines actual struggles. The mask of the theory that the spirit is the foundation, that is, philosophical idealism, has long been ripped off. However, the theory that the line is the foundation is still under its idealist disguise. Therefore, we must expose its true idealist features. Of course, it is absolutely possible that among our new bureaucrats, concealed and decorated idealism is more beautiful than naked idealism, and disguised ugliness is nobler than plain ugliness. Therefore, they have all the good reasons to curse the latter and praise the former.

In any case, to obtain a clear picture of the issue of line, we must first obtain a clear picture of the objective laws of historical development, the laws of change in social relations and social systems and also the possible retrogression of these kinds of relations, that is, the so-called issue of capitalist restoration. It is not the other way round. It is not that we must get a clear picture of the former by getting a clear picture of the latter. If someone advocates the belief that to obtain a clear picture of the latter, that is, capitalist restoration and other issues, we must first of all obtain a clear picture of the former, that is, the issue of line, is he not advocating out-and-out idealism and mysticism? Nevertheless, what is regrettable is that our newspapers and journals are exactly following this kind of idealist line of understanding. Of course, our newspapers and journals have sometimes also admitted that the line is derived from the actual situation and from the objective laws of historical development. However, for a long time they have rarely emphatically studied these kinds of objective laws of historical development or the issues of how our social relations and social systems at the present stage should be changed. Apart from the two shoddy works by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan ("On the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "On the complete dictatorship over the bourgeoisie"), they have merely indulged themselves in empty talk regarding the issue of line. Where will this kind of action lead the masses?

A: It will lead them to the current ideological confusion and to the view that "line struggle is something hard to discern."

B: Yes. It will lead to idealism and to restoration in practice. It was exactly because Chairman Mao saw this kind of danger that he issued the instruction on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also seriously noted that "if we do not obtain a clear picture of the issue, we will turn revisionist." However, our theoretical circles have again unconsciously opposed Chairman Mao's instruction (of course we must not eliminate the possibilities that this was done consciously or half-consciously). They have unscrupulously distorted,

opposed and mocked certain basic Marxist concepts and theories. They have made a lot of fuss regarding the issue of "rights" and advocated the idealist fallacy of the theory of rights. I do not want to go on with this issue. Would you look at my letters to "Hongqi" and other materials?

A: Sure.

B: This is the side where our theoretical circles have so far gone wrong in the process of understanding. It is a historical development process of errors in understanding and an idealist system. This has been determined by the development process of practice in combating and preventing revisionism.

A: Right, it is an idealist theoretical system. But what are the correct theories?

B: The cultural revolution revealed a large number of social contradictions among us. It provided us with the objective conditions for finding the correct theories. As for the subjective conditions, to get the correct theories, we must first secure the correct methods and line of understanding.

That is to say, we must eliminate the idealist line of understanding, observe the materialist line of understanding and emphatically study changes in social relations and social systems. We must study the objective laws of historical development and not depart from this actual foundation and discuss an intangible "line" in an abstract manner.

As for the theories we have advocated, you may first look at our article "Oppose Special Privileges." There we have generally discussed our viewpoint. History will draw a conclusion whether this viewpoint is correct or not.

A: Good. I will raise my questions after reading the article. However, could you please first explain some issues which the masses are generally concerned about?

B: What issues?

A: For instance, the issues of whether or not our country has turned revisionist, the general drop in the masses' enthusiasm, the social atmosphere, the rising rate of juvenile delinquency, and people going through the backdoor.

B: Regarding the first issue of whether or not our country has turned revisionist, many worker-peasant-soldier masses and basic-level cadres have said that our country has turned revisionist. There are also many more people who have said nothing but have had a tacit understanding of this. This conclusion has been drawn a bit too early. It is not an issue of theory but one of practice. It has to be demonstrated by a

large number of facts. There is really no need to draw a conclusion too early. Unless the development of the situation and the needs of the revolutionary policy decision urgently require us to do so, we would rather wait till the situation becomes clearer. Besides, in any case, Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and other older generation of revolutionaries are still controlling the supreme leadership power of the state.

Regarding the last issue of people going through the backdoor, we have already generally discussed it in "Oppose Special Privileges" and other articles.

The issue of the drop in the masses' enthusiasm, the social atmosphere and the rising rate of juvenile delinquency are in fact one issue. On the one hand, this is an issue of the masses having lost a specific revolutionary aim or at least a revolutionary orientation for progress for the next step. On the other hand, it is of course a manifestation of the masses' discontent with some social realities.

In politics, people are greatly dissatisfied with certain special privilege politics. Since politics has become a matter which concerns only the big cadres, why should we the ordinary masses be concerned about it? Amid this kind of politics, what role can our concern play? In case something goes wrong and we offend officials, we will be labeled as "counterrevolutionaries" and will "never be able to get over it for the rest of our lives." What advantages will we get here? Such is the state of mind of the ordinary masses. At the same time, since the theory that "the line is the foundation" has led people to idealist mysticism and not provided an answer for the revolutionary object for the next step, what enthusiasm do people have to struggle for things which they are unclear about? Since I feel the line struggle is something intangible, why should I carry it out with my mind in a haze? Why must I commit any "mistake in line" or mistake in "taking the wrong stand?" The thinking that political struggles are hard to discern, are dangerous and do not concern us has developed under this kind of situation.

Some comrades hold that the people's enthusiasm is stimulated by "material incentives." This kind of view is incorrect. Was the boundless enthusiasm of the masses during the revolutionary years and the great leap forward in 1958 stimulated by "material incentives?" Not at all. To get a clear picture of the source of boundless enthusiasm, we must study the source of the masses' enthusiasm during the period of the great leap forward.

At that time, the system of public ownership of the means of production had just been realized, and the masses' idea of being the masters of their own affairs was quite strong. They firmly trusted the government. If you conduct an investigation among old workers, they will clearly tell you of this situation and compare it against the current one. This situation was the actual foundation of boundless enthusiasm. Therefore, as the slogans of surpassing Britain and the United States in a certain

number of years (this was correct) and especially realizing communism in a certain number of years (this was sham) were put forward, the boundless enthusiasm of the masses immediately burst forth. However, the latter sham slogan, which at the beginning constituted a significant factor for mobilizing the boundless enthusiasm, later turned out to be one of the causes for the relative drop in the masses' enthusiasm during the 3 years of natural calamities. The disappearance of the boundless enthusiasm was not merely due to the material difficulties during the period of natural calamities. Boundless enthusiasm can also be produced under great difficulties in material life, such as during the Red Army era of crossing the snow-covered mountains and marshes on the long march. An even more important reason for the disappearance of the boundless enthusiasm was the failure of the sham slogan and the people's disappointment with it.

Therefore, the people's revolutionary enthusiasm has derived from their endeavour toward a specific revolutionary object. This is something which no material incentive can mobilize.

Last year, some new bureaucrats promised people everywhere that a new great leap forward was coming. This kind of dishonored check has only become the laughingstock of the people. At the same time, it was no more than a continuation of their frivolous habit of talking all sorts of nonsense. Unless those new bureaucrats can produce the panaceas hidden in their pockets and solve the problem regarding the masses' enthusiasm, we can only regard them as talking nonsense.

As a matter of fact, just as we have mentioned above, the drop in the masses' enthusiasm was first due to the dissatisfaction the masses have felt with certain actual situations. Secondly, it is due to the loss by the masses of a specific revolutionary objective. In terms of production, the enthusiasm of the masses was derived from the conviction of working for the revolutionary cause, even though there were certain bonuses and "material incentives" before the cultural revolution and during the great leap forward in 1958. What about now? Should we work for the revolution? But what is the revolutionary objective for the next step? Should we work for the state? Many phenomena which have aroused the dissatisfaction of the masses have aroused their doubts: whose state is the state? For whom are we vigorously working? Who are the masters of the state (and the factories)? Are we workers the masters? However, what masters of what affairs have we become? The situation is never that "all people are masters" as described by the advocates of certain existing forms of the special privilege system who, in order to uphold the old existing things, have beautified the old social relationships by adopting the anti-Marxist methods of obliterating, covering up and mediating contradictions. (In fact, how many Marxist elements does the greatly lauded statement "though the work is divided up, all people are masters" contain? Why are our newspapers and journals so very keen on publicizing those anti-Marxist things?) The blind conviction has been lost and the blind trust toward the targets publicized by newspapers and journals has been shaken. Doubt, disappointment and bewilderment have followed. Such is the actual situation.

A: You are right. Our factory, workers during their normal work still have some definite enthusiasm. However, once the phenomenon of people going through the backdoor is brought up, all their enthusiasm is lost.

B: If we say that the bonuses before the cultural revolution played a definite role as "incentives," then, the current meager "incentives" have almost failed to play any role at all.

A: At one time when the workers discussed bonuses, they said: We no longer have any more bonuses. "In any case, people are eating together. Since everyone gets the same rate, why should I go all out in my work to achieve a thankless task? If I get more bonuses, other people may even be antagonistic toward me!"

B: Because of the loss of revolutionary ideals and because of the political depression, a drop in enthusiasm has therefore resulted. People have therefore also turned their attention from the revolutionary ideal which includes being concerned over politics to being concerned over their own personal lives. The people's revolutionary desire for improvement, especially that of young people, has been lost. At the same time, many special privilege phenomena, for instance various social phenomena including that of illegally going through the backdoor, have been set as examples by those above and followed by those below. They have greatly corrupted people's morality and the social atmosphere and have poisoned the society's atmosphere and people's thinking. The corruption of one kind of important thing, that is, the corruption of a small number of government bureaucrats, has led to the corruption of many other things. Of course, this corruption has again even more deeply originated from the currently existing "legal" social relationship of a capitalist nature. It is also the roots of the problems in the social atmosphere and the rising rate of juvenile delinquency. Some people have separated the issue of young people from the issue of social atmosphere, turning the former into one which purely concerns the education of young people. They say that "to allow the red flags to fly for ten thousand generations, we must place the emphasis on educating the younger generations." This is very laughable.

A: Then, how are we going to solve the problem regarding the masses' enthusiasm?

B: Different people have different methods of solution. Some of the veteran cadres and intellectuals have advocated "material incentives" for the solution. However, as I have noted above, the current small amounts of bonuses have simply failed to play any role as "incentives." This will continue unless they adopt even more severe and thorough "incentives," that is to say, unless they revert from the time rate system, which is a kind of not so strict system of to each according to his work, to the strict system of to each according to his work, that is, the piece rate system. This may seem to be retrogression in a certain sense; however, as a matter of fact, it is a kind of great

advancement. The current time rate system that actually exists is an eight-grade wage system. In a certain sense, it is even more unreasonable than the piece rate system, because it puts the remnants of the allotting and hierarchical relations of the old feudal exploiting system ahead of the system of to each according to his work. This is the first way of solving the problem. The second way is the one adopted by some of the new bureaucrats. This is to exert political pressure: under the pretext of grasping class struggle and so on, they punish someone as a warning to others. They exert pressure on the workers and force them to boost their enthusiasm. However, this method can play only a very limited and transitory role. It will definitely lead to a new and even greater drop in the masses' enthusiasm.

Revolutionaries have not made a choice between the two seemingly antagonistic methods of solution. They have in fact negated both methods. They hold that to mobilize the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, the only revolutionary method is to allow the masses to have a specific revolutionary objective, struggle against the special privilege phenomena which have aroused the discontent of the masses, mobilize the masses to plunge into the struggle to eliminate various forms of the special privilege system and struggle with concerted efforts to fulfill the great revolutionary historical mission.

A: Well, it is getting late. However, I really want to hear your views on the revolution in education, because I have a friend who wanted very much to study in a university. However, since he had no way of going through the backdoor, he could only look on in despair. Therefore, I am very concerned about the issue of revolution in education. Could you also discuss this issue?

B: I suppose the workers in your factories are rather dissatisfied with some of the issues in current university education, especially the issue of student enrollment?

A: Quite right. The workers even despise very much the so-called "worker-peasant-soldier students," saying they are merely people who have successfully gone through the backdoor and are the sons and daughters of officials.

B: This is a kind of general sentiment. How has it been generated? Let us take an example. Let me briefly talk about Zhang Tiesheng as an example.

A: Yes, please do so. The workers are disgusted with Zhang Tiesheng very much. After Zhang Tiesheng's letter was promulgated, the 10 plus workers in our work group conducted a discussion and all turned out to be against him. I have not yet heard of one worker saying that he supports him.

B: Right. I have listened to the views of many factory workers and none have said that they support him. Since I was brought up in a poor peasant family, I also know about the situation of the peasants. Zhang Tiesheng is also unpopular among the poor and lower-middle peasants.

A: The workers said: "In this way, it would be better to let everyone try to go through the backdoor. Whoever successfully gets through the backdoor is politically sound."

B: Yes. One of the objective effects of publicizing Zhang Tiesheng is to encourage people to go through the backdoor. This has at least further made it convenient for people going through the backdoor. It has also eliminated various obstacles including the issue of work and the criteria of examination marks, regardless of the subjective desires of our infantile "leftist" friends.

However, Zhang Tiesheng himself is an insignificant figure. The reason that he became a renowned "hero" throughout the country in "going against the tide" was totally a result of the unscrupulous appreciation by our infantile "leftists" who disregarded the masses' opposition and other consequences. However, just when our infantile "leftists" turned him into a "hero" in the newspapers and journals, he was simultaneously turned into a negligible clown in the hearts of the people throughout the country.

A: What then is the class significance of this model?

B: As a matter of fact, the problem of Zhang Tiesheng was not a problem of Zhang Tiesheng himself nor of the model he was. It was in fact a problem of the student enrollment system.

Our infantile "leftists" have placed themselves in a political group which is to a certain degree antagonistic to the cultural group. Because of certain interests of their own group, they have deprived the intellectuals of their right of student enrollment. However, when our infantile "leftists" lavishly praised their kind of "favors" in depriving intellectuals of this right while handing it to the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, it was not wholehearted gratitude but resentment and even hatred with which the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants repaid them.

Intellectuals have as a matter of fact been deprived of their right of student enrollment. However, to whom has this right been handed? Has it really been handed to the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants? In that case, they would certainly warmly welcome it and recommend the most outstanding representatives of their classes and send them to college. This would of course be a very great favor from our "leftist" friends because they have fulfilled for the masses a historic mission of the future. However, why have the worker-peasant masses opposed it? To whom has the right of student enrollment been actually handed? And what phenomena has it caused. All those who understand something about the situation are perfectly clear about the answer. The worker-peasant masses have angrily noted: "Recommended by the workers, peasants and soldiers? Who have actually recommended them?" Moreover, many "worker-peasant-soldier students" were sent to colleges exactly against the will of the worker-peasant masses.

A: That is true. The workers in our factory also said the same thing. In the past few years, quite a few "students" from our factory were sent to colleges in the midst of strong opposition by the workers.

B: Our "leftist" friends have shut their eyes to this fact. Although they have vigorously spoken about education serving politics, they have exactly forgotten about the actual political situation. They have forgotten that the issue of education is by no means purely one of education. Instead, it is a social issue. They have separated the issue of education from actual political issues. Having the ideal situation of education in their own heads, they have handed the right of student enrollment to the workers, peasants and soldiers. However, they have never bothered to see to whom the actual political situation actually allowed the power to be handed. Of course, it is also possible that our "leftist" friends are perfectly clear about this point, but they have consciously wanted to insure through the student enrollment system that they will successfully turn our education into the lackey of revisionist special privileges and of a small number of privileged aristocrats. The student enrollment system has now fallen into the hands of a small number of people. What are the criteria of this small number of people in exercising their power? Their criteria are probably their personal interests. That is to say, they have legally or illegally made use of their functions and powers and have allowed people to go through open or hidden backdoors. Whoever has strong backstage support will be given a place in the university. Sometimes, whoever can send more gifts will be given a place. Or perhaps it is a matter of whether or not people are "obedient." Whoever is "obedient," actually whoever is adequately slavish, will be given a place. Those two criteria would have to be insured through the student enrollment system in order to turn our education into the lackey of revisionist special privileges. There are, of course, students enrolled truly according to the criteria of proletarian revolution. However, they have become rare exceptions. Our "leftist" friends would probably obstinately obliterate these facts. Nevertheless, the more they obliterate the facts which are obvious to all the masses and preach their meritorious achievements and favors, the more they arouse the strong discontent and resentment of the masses.

If we say that the outstanding representatives and children of the worker-peasant masses could still wade through the marshland of the old student enrollment system and enter the old universities, then the present-day universities have put up extra barriers and even closed their heavy iron doors. While our "leftist" friends are making a big fanfare about celebrating the destruction of the hereditary territory of the bourgeois intellectuals, there are many good reasons for the worker-peasant masses to adopt a hostile attitude toward them for turning this territory into the hereditary territory of the even more fiercely privileged revisionist bureaucrats, that of the bureaucrats and their children. The children of workers and peasants will be even more thoroughly deprived of their rights to enter a university.

The class significance of the problem of Zhang Tiesheng lies here, because he was turned into a tool for upholding this kind of student enrollment system. This is exactly why the masses opposed him.

Of course, contradictions generally permeate each other. The old capitalist universities somehow went against the will of the bourgeoisie and the universities themselves, and trained our great teachers of the proletariat. For the same reason, we may also place our hope in the existing colleges. In addition, our young students will never willingly become the lackeys of revisionist special privileges.

The most important aspect of education is its contents, that is, that which is taught. We will discuss this and other aspects when we have an opportunity in the future!

A: There are still many questions I want to ask you, but it is really getting late. I hope we can discuss other even more wide-ranging issues next time. I think no matter how certain people oppose your views, the masses will support them.

B: Good. Let us discuss them when we have the opportunity in the future. Today, we have had a very general and informal discussion, and the things discussed have only been superficially touched. If there has been any point I have been wrong about, please oblige me with your criticism and comments so that it may be corrected. So long.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING JOURNAL COMMENTS ON HOUSING, MOVIES, DANCING

Beijing TANSUO in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 p 14 HK

["Society Column": by Qiu Ben]

[Text] Where Is the 'Housing Plan?'

According to a XINHUA agency report, houses built during the year increased by 31 percent as compared with last year. Judging from the figures, we know that the area of our residential district has been enlarged. We would like to put forward this question: How have the houses been distributed? How many houses have been given to the masses? According to our understanding, the area of housing construction in this municipality has increased by a relatively big margin. However, the newly built houses have been basically distributed among departments directly under the central authorities and the State Council. Only a very few newly built houses have been given to the ordinary citizens.

Serving the People or Serving the 'Renminbi?'

The Beijing television station recently restored its old manner--having poor and monotonous programs. Following the downfall of the "gang of four," the Beijing television station had "let a hundred flowers blossom." As a result, television sets sold well. The television audience has discovered recently that there are no television programs worth watching. The television station no longer broadcasts any new films. It is said that this is aimed at increasing the income of the cinema box offices and that this was ordered by the Ministry of Culture. Generally speaking, the great majority of comrades who bought television sets do not have the time and energy to line up for movie tickets. They originally hoped to watch some good television programs in their leisure time. Now their plans have fizzled out. Ours is a socialist country which gives first place to serving the people. At present, capitalist countries are doing a better job of commerce and social service as compared with ours. In going in for the four modernizations, we must not fail to master the good points of the bourgeoisie and must not only pay attention to adopting the bourgeois method of putting profit-making first. We hope that leaders of the departments concerned will always have the interests of the people at heart.

Beihai's Dance

There was no dance in Beihai in the past. Following the dances held in the nationalities palace and the Great Hall, the young people are crazy about dancing. This shows that the young people want to live more fully. With the exception of paying attention to the needs of its "international friends" and those ranking "public servants," the government seldom pays attention to the needs of the young people. The young people are, therefore, forced to find ways to meet their own needs. It is known to all that China's houses are the most crowded houses in the world. With the exception of the "public servants" at and above the vice ministerial level, ordinary people have no place for dancing. Since there are few places to dance, the young people did something unusual and went to Beihai to dance. A notice put up recently in Beihai said that it is forbidden to dance there and that [words illegible] "trouble from hoodlums."

We should like to ask this question: Why is it that the Great Hall has no "trouble from hoodlums" and that Beihai has trouble?

Our [words illegible] have paid attention to the organizational spirit, order and the unified leadership, why is it that we cannot organize some dances for the young people. The crux of the matter is that after satisfying their own hedonic needs, those elderly "public servants" have probably forgotten to think about the needs of the unmarried young people.

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BEIJING JOURNAL REPORTS NEWS FROM PRISON

Beijing TANSUO in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 p 16 HK

[Article by TANSUO reporter Mu Mu: "Four News Items From the Prison"]

[Text] According to reliable sources:

1. Wei Jingsheng and Yang Guang are both locked up in "small cells (housing one to three people) in the Beijing No 1 Prison. The reason for this is not clear. It is probably out of fear that they will "radicalize" the other "prisoners."
2. Democracy fighter Fu Yuehua has already been transferred from the Gong De Lin Prison (the Beijing No 2 Prison) to the Beijing No 1 Prison. (The transfer was carried out on 3 April this year.)
3. Zhang Wenhe, former member of the "Human Rights League" but who later withdrew to join the movement of petitioning for redress, was arrested by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau in March and charged with seriously interfering with and sabotaging public order. He is also imprisoned in the Beijing No 1 Prison. During the suppression of the democracy movement in China last April, the Beijing Municipal Procuratorate prosecuted Zhang Wenhe at the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court and intended to have him sentenced to prison. However, since the tide of the democracy movement was not subdued because of the suppression but has gradually risen, the case was again put aside.
4. The arrested "four major student leaders": Nie Yuanzi, Kuai Dafu, Wang Dabin and Tan Houlan have refused to hang their heads and admit their guilt. They said that everything they did was done under Chairman Mao's instructions and that they were defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In addition, they can accurately blurt out without fail all Chairman Mao's talks with them and all instructions which Chairman Mao gave them.

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BEIJING JOURNAL STATEMENT ON STATE RELATIONS

Beijing TANSUO in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 p 17 HK

[The TANSUO Editorial Department's 16 September statement: "Statement on State Relations"]

[Text] Today, as the Chinese and the Soviet governments are opening their negotiations, we solemnly state to the whole world that like the peoples of all other countries in the world, the Chinese people also need peace. We believe that the Soviet people also cherish the same strong hopes. Therefore, we call on the two governments to do well in improving their mutual state relations, coexist peacefully with each other and uphold the noninterference in each other's internal affairs. These things are the expectations of all civilized countries. We hope that in the process of the negotiations, the two governments will show their good faith, avoid indulging in idle talk, do more solid work and do more things that will benefit the peoples of their own countries. During this "international year of the child," all governments must further think of the needs of their descendants and benefit their future generations.

We do not want to see the continuous bloodshed between the Chinese and Soviet people and the continuous bloodshed between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. We do not want to see another war between China and Vietnam. We regard the promotion of peace among all countries as a glorious task. Relaxing international tension is currently the main trend in the world. The Chinese people should strive together with the peoples of all countries in the world to make contributions to the cause of peace which conforms to the common interest of mankind.

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BEIJING JOURNAL. PROTESTS AGAINST POSTER REMOVAL

Beijing TANSUO in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 p 17 HK

[Protests" by the TANSUO Editorial Board dated 22 September 1979]

[Text] An article "Statement on State Relations" put up by the TANSUO Editorial Board in the middle section of the Democracy Wall in Xidan on 16 September was torn away 2 days later. It was by no means a trivial matter, but an act manifesting a guilty conscience. As people, do we have no right to express our own views regarding the state's internal and external policies? Does it mean that only a small number of state leaders have the right to discuss foreign policies.

We hope that the people hiding themselves in the sewers will stand in the sun. The exploration for truth can never be covered up by sneaky acts.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING JOURNAL CARRIES DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN NEWS

Beijing TANSUO [EXPLORATION] in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 p 18 HK

[Unattributed "News Items" column]

[Text] Special dispatch from Haikou: About 7,000 to 10,000 people took part in the riot on Hainan Island at the beginning of July. The Chinese communist authorities mobilized two regular divisions to suppress it. A fierce fight between the two sides lasted a whole day, resulting in some 300 casualties. Some of the troops changed sides in the fight and joined the side of the rioters, who retreated from Tunchang County to the south as they fought. Some of the leaders had taken part in the guerrilla warfare during the civil war. Being familiar with the terrain, they now retreated to the Wuzhi Mountains, one of the oldest bases of the Red Army's guerrilla forces.

It is learned that one of the leaders of the Hainan Island riot was previously a responsible person of the Haikou Municipal CCP Committee of Hainan Island and two were previously secretaries of county CCP committees. The authorities said that they were elements of the "gang of four."

---Extracted from ZHANWANG of 1 September 1979

According to foreign sources, since the beginning of this year, the number of refugees illegally fleeing from the mainland to Hong Kong has been gradually increasing, and has reached hundreds and thousands each day. This is a big threat to Hong Kong. Therefore, the British Government has detached a Royal marine unit to defend Hong Kong.

According to reports, in the first 8 months of this year, Hong Kong arrested some 47,000 refugees illegally emigrating from the mainland. The number of refugees who were not arrested was much bigger. Many people were drowned in the course of illegal emigration. It is estimated that some 200,000 Chinese refugees have now fled to Hong Kong. It is said that, to prevent this illegal emigration, the Chinese side has reinforced its armed patrols. According to reports in Japanese papers more than 1 month ago, some 32,000 of the Chinese refugees fleeing from the mainland to Hong Kong were the refugees that went to China as refugees from Vietnam at the beginning

of this year. According to another report, Hong Kong sent 773 people back to China on one occasion at the end of September. An investigation conducted by Hong Kong revealed that these people had entered China from Vietnam, lived there for some time and then secretly fled away by boat. There were also reports that a number of commune members in Hainan Island fled to Malaysia by boat and met with disaster at sea. According to foreign analysis, the reasons for the large number of Chinese refugees fleeing abroad are: 1) they cannot tolerate the hard life at home; 2) they want to escape from the war-like atmosphere at home.

According to foreign reports, in August this year, the Kampuchea revolutionary court conducted a public trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. The accused were of course absent. Lawyers, including U.S. and Japanese lawyers, attended the trial. Pol Pot and Ieng Sary committed the crime of genocide in the several years when they ruled Kampuchea. During this period, some 3 million Kampuchea people were persecuted to death. Large numbers of people were killed by iron bars, axes and choppers. In the revolutionary court, people cited innumerable facts to accuse Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and company of towering crimes. In view of these crimes, the Kampuchea Revolutionary Court sentenced Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to death.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YOUTH CONFIDENCE CRISIS AND HAPPINESS DISCUSSED

Confidence Crisis

Beijing TANSUO in Chinese No 5, 1 Oct 79 pp 35-36 HK

[Article by Lu Lin: "The Root Cause of the Confidence Crisis--a Talk on Belief"--dated September 1979]

[Text] Some people who are concerned about current ideological trends among young people recently put forward the following questions to us: What do you young people have in your minds? Why do you not believe in truth...? The situation much resembles that outlined by Xing Benshi in this year's 20 September GONGREN RIBAO: "Nowadays there is a 'crisis of confidence' among some of our young comrades. What is the 'crisis of confidence'? It means that in the eyes of some of our young comrades, there currently seems to be nothing worthy of their belief. They do not believe in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the leadership of the CCP, the superiority of socialism, or the bright future of communism."

First of all, I hold that this way of saying things is unscientific. What is truth? Is Marxism truth? Marxism is probably truth. However, if we look at the realities of Chinese society under the guidance of Marxism and also the "happy life" which Marxism has brought to most of the young people, we should be able to understand why this crisis would occur. Some people may say: what was developed before the collapse of the "gang of four" was not genuine Marxism. Should what has been developed since the collapse of the "gang of four" then be Marxism? Judging from the official attitude, it is indeed genuine Marxism. Now let us look: With a simple statement by Mao Zedong: "With you in charge, I am at ease," Hua Guofeng thus became the leader of the 1 billion Chinese people. We [words illegible]. In point of fact, in acting in this way, Mao Zedong regarded himself as the founder emperor of the state and the people as the property he had earned through the struggle for the country. And during his old age, he granted his legacy to one of the dukes whom he trusted. Is this kind of feudal and hereditary Marxism reasonable? Of course, some people may say that it is the (?need) of history and so on and so forth. However, no matter what excuses they find, they are quite unable to demonstrate that this way of doing things is correct and reasonable.

Here I do not mean to say that if Hua Guofeng were not the chairman, all the problems of China would be solved. I just want to explain that this way of doing things is not reasonable and cannot win the trust of the people. In that case, the people will lose their interest in you and it would be impossible to arouse the belief of China's young people in Marxism again.

Next, suppose we say: "The electoral law is the most fundamental prerequisite law. In the People's Republic, as there is no electoral law adopted through universal suffrage, the legislative organization, therefore, cannot represent the people, legally speaking, because the people have not entrusted and delegated their power to it to make laws." "The laws it makes have only manifested the will of the current NPC organization (or group) or the will of the leaders who determine the members of this organization, but not the will of the people." Suppose we say: The people are not very interested in the seven legal documents adopted at the Second Session of the Fifth NPC. The specific reason is that what is said and what is done are worlds apart. They are but a mere scrap of paper. For instance, there should not be any ideological criminals in a socialist country. It is expressly provided in the Constitution that all citizens enjoy freedom of thought, speech, the press and association. As a matter of fact, however, all places are arresting ideological criminals. Wei Jingsheng, Ren Wandong, Fu Yuehua, Yang Guang, Chen Lu and Zhang Wenhe are still imprisoned in the Beijing No 1 Prison. Do they not illustrate the point very well? With acts like this of going back on one's words, how can you arouse the belief of China's young people in the CCP? In capitalist countries, people can speak out freely, whereas in our socialist country, people are "punished for the views they express." How can this demonstrate the superiority of socialism?

In addition, why do the young people not believe in the bright future of communism? This is in fact easy to answer. Communism is actually a kind of idealism. That is to say, it can only be imagined and cannot be realized. To put it bluntly, it is also a kind of religion. It has gone even further than any religion. (The religion of the West is founded on the absurd chanting of scriptures and bowing of heads, whereas this kind of religion is founded on so-called "scientific theories.") Religions generally preach to people: It does not matter that we suffer some hardships now. By the time communism is realized, we will be implementing the principle of "to each according to his needs," and there will be equality and happiness. In a word, to the poor people, they play the role of feeding people on fancies and illusions. I may or may not believe in any religion. In China, however, I must believe in communism, otherwise I will be regarded as a traitor and heretic. I will then be criticized, rectified and even put to death. There has not been much change in this kind of situation today.

Then, does it mean that we believe in nothing and that there is no truth in the world? Not at all. Of course, many young people are no longer interested in politics, beliefs or any "isms," and the government is very anxious about this. I think this is a good phenomenon. Marxism and communism have not brought them any happiness in China and they, therefore, do not believe in them. This is just something natural. They no longer blindly worship any idols. The era in which they are compelled to worship idols has gone forever! But then, what is truth? What should we trust? According to my view, theories that have been demonstrated by practice to be correct are truth. (Of course, truth is also limited by its time and scope.) To put it specifically, no matter which party or group you belong to, if you can enable the people of your country to live a happy life, then we will support and respect you, or perhaps believe in you. When you do it today, we will believe in you today. However, when you no longer seek happiness for the people or even, on the contrary, start oppressing the people the next day, we will not believe in you. We will next oppose you and strike you down and later find a road which will lead the people to a happy life.

What happened yesterday cannot explain what happens today, and today cannot be substituted for tomorrow. No matter what parties or groups they are, if they want to attract even more disciples, they had better first make themselves into a "real buddha," because the ordinary people will not burn their joss sticks if they do see a real buddha.

In conclusion, let us look at one problem. Xing Benshi said: "Nowadays there is a 'crisis of confidence' among some of our young comrades." According to my view, it is not just some of them. If it is only some of them, how can it be called a crisis? He would do better to conduct some private investigations and find out an accurate percentage. He must not say anything in an idealist way.

Youth Happiness Rights

Hong Kong AFP in English 0840 GMT 2 Oct 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, Oct 2 (AFP)--Young people in China are demanding the right to happiness, the radical democratic rights magazine EXPLORATIONS said in a hardhitting analysis of the current "Crisis of Confidence" among Chinese youth. An article in the magazine's fifth issue, which has just gone on sale here, said Marxism and communism "have not brought happiness to Chinese youth."

"Young people no longer believe in politics nor in any 'isms' and this is perfectly normal," the article written by Lu Lin, a friend of the magazine's leading contributor Wei Jingsheng who has been in prison since April, said.

Lu also attributed the "crisis of confidence" among young people to the footdragging of Chinese leaders over applying the law, especially in the cases of the dissidents arrested last spring "and who still have not been judged."

Lu then compared capitalist and socialist countries. In the former "people can speak freely," but in the second "as soon as you open your mouth you are guilty."

Lu then compared communism to "a sort of religion," with the difference that "one can believe or disbelieve in religion but in China people are forced to believe in communism, otherwise they become excluded" from society.

The article finished by affirming the author's determination to "oppose the leaders" who "oppress the people" and to "do away with them," replacing them by "leaders who would be able to lead the people to a happy life."

In an editorial titled "Contribution to a Young Republic" written for the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic the magazine's editorial board said its "flag is the flag of freedom" and its slogan "Without freedom it is better to die."

The magazine which stopped appearing in April after the arrest of Wei Jingsheng, accused of having committed "a crime against the revolution," started publishing again on the third anniversary of the death of Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong on September 9. The magazine has the largest sales of any of the "alternative" publications which came out during the democratic movement in spring.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING JOURNAL CALLS FOR FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing SIHUA LUNTAN [FOUR MODERNIZATIONS FORUM] in Chinese No 1,
15 Sep 79 p 1 HK

[Manifesto for the first issue by the Editorial Department of SIHUA LUNTAN]

[Text] Our motherland wants the four modernizations and the people want happiness. This mighty tide of history has surged forward on the great river and on the banks of the Changjiang. No force whatsoever can resist it and everything is at its disposal. Those who submit to it will prosper, those who resist it shall perish. How to look into and embark on it is the most urgent and important issue for all the Chinese people and the most urgent and important task of the SIHUA LUNTAN.

In resolute response to the call of the party, this journal regards seeking the road of Chinese-style four modernizations as its bounden duty and regards pleading and speaking on behalf of the people as its mission. It is a comprehensive theoretical journal which specifically looks into the political, economic and scientific socialist problems concerning achievement of the four modernizations at an early date. This journal warmly welcomes articles from friends of all circles and scholars at home and abroad for the discussion of the scheme for the four modernizations.

The opportunity has come, the waves of the four modernizations are rolling rapidly, the third plenum of the party Central Committee has struck the quiet bell awakening the world and the prelude of the emancipation of the mind has commenced.... Let us quickly greet it with our two hands. Facing us is our golden world filled with cars, television sets and refrigerators.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING JOURNAL ISSUES INAUGURAL STATEMENT

Beijing BAIHUA [HUNDRED FLOWERS] in Chinese No 1, 1 Oct 79 p 1 HK

[Preface to the first issue]

[Text] For many years, Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their "adviser" pushed an ultraleftist line and caused extremely evil consequences on the literature and art front with the result that many people, especially young people, cannot have their urgent need for varied and instructive spiritual victuals satisfied. If the prohibited areas of literature and art creation are not broken into and the extremely harmful ultraleftist line is not thoroughly criticized, the principle of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" cannot be really implemented, socialist literature and art creation cannot flourish and people's urgent need for spiritual victuals cannot be satisfied.

The comrades who are engaged in literature and art creation must emancipate their minds, dare to break into the prohibited areas and be bold to carry out creation. All literature and art creations which extol the true, the good and the beautiful and expose the false, the evil and the ugly express class character and the party spirit. Everything which opposes the notion that literature and art creation should take the stand of the party and people, take a correct view of reality and faithfully reflect life expresses the ultraleftist trend of thought.

The 3d plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee called on the whole party and the people of the whole country to emancipate their minds and to boldly, practically and realistically put forward and solve problems. Therefore, only when literature and art creation takes a correct view of reality and faithfully reflects life, can socialist literature and art creation be full of life, flourish, develop and satisfy the urgent needs of the masses for spiritual victuals.

To make socialist literature and art creation flourish, liven up academic research and enrich the masses' spiritual and cultural life, the publication of BAIHUA monthly starts today. BAIHUA monthly is a comprehensive monthly with literature and art creation and academic research as its object. BAIHUA monthly caters for the masses and earnestly and sincerely serves them. BAIHUA monthly wholeheartedly hopes that leadership at all levels, departments concerned, experts and professional and amateur workers will give vigorous support and assistance.

The Editorial Department of BAIHUA Monthly
1 October 1979

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING JOURNAL'S INAUGURAL STATEMENT

Beijing WO'MEN in Chinese No 1, [1979] HK

[WO'MEN Statement on first issue--no date]

[Text] With our backs to the past and our faces to the future, we march with sure steps. We have gathered ourselves under the Democracy Wall, where spring fills the air and the spirit of life prospers. People are pouring out what is in their hearts.

We have also placed our hearts in the sun. Manifesting our lives and hopes, our society and our country, blazing and sparkling blood has burst forth from our plain and unadorned hearts....

People: Have you ever discovered that there are you, me and him among us? WO'MEN actually means all of us.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HONG KONG NO 2?--IMPRESSION OF A REVISIT TO GUANGZHOU

Beijing QIUSHI [AUTUMN FRUIT] in Chinese No 1, Mar 79 pp 11-12

[Article by An Xin [1344 1800]]

[Text] Vote for Whom?

"If the people of Beijing were to vote in a democratic election, what would they do first?"

"Reelect Peng Zhen as mayor," I replied.

"Then make a guess. If the people of Guangzhou were to vote in a democratic election, what would they do first?"

"Let me see..." All my guesses were wrong.

"Let me tell you. The first thing they do is elect the Governor of Hong Kong as the secretary of the municipal party committee."

At first, I took it as a joke. But after 20 days of observation, I have the feeling that Guangzhou, the so-called south gate, has changed dramatically lately under the influence of Hong Kong....

Billboard Girl and Television Beauty

Going to Guangzhou by train, one has to pass through a road known as the Liberation Road. It is said that the army took this road that year to enter the city, and so it has been named the Liberation Road. There is a huge propaganda billboard in the middle of the road. A change of propaganda poster from the portrait of Lin Biao holding a red book to that of the hoodlums of the "gang of four" clutching people with clenched fists invariably reflects some delicate change in the political situation. I remember a year ago when I went to Beijing to study, the bloodthirsty poster on this billboard had been replaced by that of a child holding a bouquet. This time there is a golden hair pretty girl on the billboard, sporting a huge "welcome" sign over her head, as throngs of people pass by under her feet. They are city folks getting off work and swarms of compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao all in colorful attire.

People are used to the changes of billboard posters, and very few seem surprised by pedestrians in "bell bottoms" and "thigh huggers." Walking home from the train station over a short stretch of street, I heard music from private homes, a blend of the soothing tune of Hong Kong "commercial," and the deafening beat of "Rumba..."

On New Year's Day, the Guangzhou TV station showed Hong Kong TV programs on "Guangzhou, a City of Joy," "The Hour of Joy..." This is unprecedented in the history of television in China. There were tens of thousands of people gathered in front of TV screens watching the local station presenting beautiful contestants of "X Asia Beauty Contest" who were greeted by performers: "Happy New Year. Wishing you each find a good husband" as the TV station played popular songs from Hong Kong. The program was all the rage at the time.

My friends in Guangzhou tell me that the city folks are now reading Hong Kong publications, including ZHENG MING, 1970'S, TA KUNG PAO and WEN HUI PAO. They also listen to "Voice of America" and Hong Kong broadcast. Lately many are getting ready to install TV antennas to receive Hong Kong TV programs. Those who have installed antennas say: "Those programs are very good. Once you see them, you just don't want to see programs originating in China..."

Television Sets and Tape Recorders

The most popular topics of conversation when people offer each other New Year greetings are television sets and tape recorders. Beginning January the import duty on five different items has been modified. A compatriot from Hong Kong or Macao, 16 years of age or older, who returns home to visit his relatives may bring in no more than one TV set or tape recorder within 1 year, provided he pays an import duty of 50 percent ad valorem. The moment this became known, countless number of people have written to their friends and relatives in Hong Kong, asking for this or that. The inundation of mail is hiking up the price of TV sets and recorders in Hong Kong. One has to spend over 100 yuan to have a two-way Panasonic recorder on his table. If he worked hard enough to amass as much as several hundred yuan, his whole family would be able to smile at a TV screen. Previously, TV sets were found only in the homes of upper grade cadres and overseas Chinese dependents, and they were very few even in a highrise building. Today, even the back alleys are dotted with TV antennas....

My friend Mr Liu said: "I'll struggle for a TV set this year. Next year I'll struggle for a refrigerator and a clothes washer." I remember he is the secretary of a regiment party branch. I met him in Guangzhou when we took part in a "Drive for Better Socialist Education." I asked him: "Are you still interested in such movements?" Smiling a forced smile, he said: "Materialism has triumphed. With a TV set and a recorder in one part of my room and nothing in other half, it is easy to tell what my preferences are..."

'Register!' 'Register!'

There are countless people who want to register. I am surprised people's thinking has changed so much under the influence of Hong Kong.

Years back Li Yizhe posted the first big-character wallpaper in China on "democracy" and the "rule of law." It sent out a violent tremor to the educated elements in Guangzhou and throughout the whole country. When I returned to Guangzhou this time, people were calling meetings to redress injustice done to those who went to prison in chains years ago. But the people of Guangzhou do not seem to be concerned.

"Li Yizhe? They have suffered enough..." That is all they have to say.

Even the Sino-Vietnamese war hasn't been hot enough to arouse public concern.

"Fighting? Thank heavens, hope they won't smash my rice jar. There are so many people in China, it makes no difference if a few got killed..." They seem to think the war was thousands of miles away from the city of Guangzhou.

Aren't the people concerned about anything at all? They want to know whether anything spectacular has happened to the Democracy Wall at Xidan. They were not angry when I told them there are people opposing Mao. Nor were they surprised when I told them there are people defending Mao. However, it is incorrect to say the city people are not concerned about politics. They often ask me: "How is Old Deng's health?" "Has the Old Man said anything recently about Guangzhou and Hong Kong?"

"I heard Hong Kong has been planning new construction projects and will recruit 400,000 workers to do the job."

"It is said when Old Deng discussed immigration problems with Carter, Old Deng said China can let 10 million people go to the United States every year. Those who had applied have already received approval to leave..."

I asked a colleague of mine what was the first thing they talked about when he returned to work after the New Year Day. He said: "Register, register soon!" I asked: "Register for what?" He said: "Register to go abroad. Everybody from clerks to division chiefs have been screaming about registering to go abroad!" As far as I know, this friend of mine works in a well-known propaganda department....

The above is what I have learned during my revisit to Guangzhou. Some people say the changes in Guangzhou are good, but others say they are bad. I am only reporting the facts, and the reading public is free to draw its own conclusions....

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GENERAL OUTLINE OF TODAY'S THEORETICAL CIRCLES ACTIVITIES

Beijing QIUSHI [AUTUMN FRUIT] in Chinese No 1, Mar 79 pp 13-14

[Article by Ke Lin [2638 7207]]

[Text] Today the theoretical circles of our country are engaged in heated discussions, the scope and depth of which and the number of subjects it covers are unprecedented. The following is a summary of what I know.

1. On the Nature of Our Society

For more than 20 years the orthodox view (or the prevailing view) is that after the three big transformations, our country has become a socialist society the economic base of which is the system of public ownership in two different forms, and that now we are to start the transition from socialism to communism.

Some comrades in the theoretical circles regard this view (represented by an anti-revision writing called "Jiu Ping") contrary to the real intent of Marxism-Leninism. (A) According to Marxism-Leninism, socialism itself is not an independent historical pattern. It is a low stage of communism. During the period of transition from capitalism to communism (including its low stage), the state political power rests with a proletarian dictatorship. This means the transitional stage does not include the socialist society. (B) From the point of view economic relations, the socialist production relations, according to Marxism-Leninism, are expressed in the ownership by the whole people, and therefore the three big distinctions do not exist. The only difference between communism and socialism is that the former favors distribution according to need while the latter favors distribution according to labor. (C) Socialism is built on the foundation of large-scale production by machine, i.e., highly developed capitalism and the use of modern advanced science and technology.

From the point of view of the actual conditions in our country, our level of productivity is still low. Basically we rely on the production method of a petty farm economy or individual economy to run industry and construction. Our economy is backward and the material goods we produce are barely enough to meet the basic needs of the people. So the true nature

of our society is what had been proposed by Comrade Zhou Enlai that it is in a transition to socialism.

Those comrades who uphold this view believe the discussions on the nature of our society is extremely important. We should not call our country a "socialist state" or "socialist society" as we have been doing for more than 20 years. However, we must know exactly the nature of our society so that we can have a basis to work out a correct line, a correct program and a correct policy for the party.

2. On the Line After the Founding of the People's Republic

Some comrades are convinced that due to an erroneous concept of the nature of our society after the founding of the People's Republic, we overstepped blindly and subjectively the objective reality and the different stages of development and tilted toward the "left" in our actual work, especially in the years after 1958, from which a "leftist line" had emerged. These comrades have cited actual facts to prove their point of view and pointed out that the "gang of four" was but the product of this line. Obviously this leftist line, blown out of proportion by the "gang of four" who had usurped leadership authority both before and after the Great Cultural Revolution, almost led to the destruction of the party and the country. Consequently, the work to rectify disorder and restore justice should not stop at blaming the "gang of four" for all past failures. We must observe the principle of seeking truth from practice to analyze objectively the history of the past 30 years in order to find out the source, development and damages done by this leftist line.

3. On the Idea of the 'Continuation of Revolution' Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Many comrades point out that "continuation of revolution" is not well phrased because it was not so phrased in Chairman Mao's works and that we should uphold the scientific concept of the unity of the "theory of uninterrupted revolution" and the "theory of different stages of revolution." Moreover, the concept of "continuation of revolution" is ambiguous. A revolution is "a violent movement in which one class overthrows another." After the seizure of power by the proletariat, there has not been a satisfactory answer to the question of how the revolution can be pursued when the proletariat is in power. Finally, the "gang of four" also took advantage of the concept (some suspect that the concept of the "continuation of revolution" was conceived by the "gang of four"). Charging that the "continuation of revolution" had been advanced by the capitalist roaders within the party, the "gang of four" purged the old cadres, expanded the class struggle to weed out good people, persecuted the masses and threatened everybody with the concept of an "ever-present" revolution. By stressing the need to "pursue it every year, every month and every day" they made the people worry about the recurrence of revolutionary drives once ever 7 or 8 years and turned politics into a plague.

Some believe socialism consists of two stages, the undeveloped stage and the developed stage. Class struggle exists at the former stage but not at the latter. This means class struggle will phase out gradually, and there is a stage in a socialist society where class struggle does not exist. Therefore, it is wrong to say that class struggle is the major theme while the rest are minor secondary issues.

4. On Socialist Democracy and a System of Law

Some people are of the opinion that there has been too much democracy. As a result, production and people's livelihood are being disrupted by the human rights movement, and government offices harassed by the masses seeking redress and striking educated youths. Others claim there is not enough rather than too much democracy. Since democracy has not been scientifically defined, they believe the socialist democracy should be institutionalized by a system of "law," telling the people in no uncertain terms what their rights are and how to exercise them. This, they claim, will restrain and prevent the spread of anarchism and individualism under the pretext of "democracy" on the one hand and stop the leadership from using "capitalist democracy" and "liberalism" as excuses to repress the masses on the other.

The theoretical circles now are involved in the discussion of a series of problems, such as how to apply the principle of "ascertaining truth from practice" to study the political background of the "gang of four" and the ideological struggle after their downfall; assess the contributions and mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong; analyze the emergence, development, conclusion and consequences of the Great Cultural Revolution and study our existing system of ownership and basic social contradictions (some believe they are not class struggles but contradictions between an advanced social system and backward productivity).

We are watching these discussions very closely and will keep our readers posted of any new developments we know.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

A PLEASANT SPRING AFTER 20 YEARS OF HARDSHIP

Beijing QIUSHI [AUTUMN FRUIT] in Chinese No 1, Mar 79 pp 15-17

[Article by Geng [5087]]

[Text] During the winter holidays a certain agency was rehabilitating the rightists and redressing their grievances. So, those "old rightists" who had been ordered out of Beijing some 20 years ago were invited back. Personally, I had the good fortune to be with these "rightists" for a considerable length of time in the guest house....

Happy to Return to the House of Our Mother

There is a song people use to sing: "Let's sing a folk song for the party. I take the party for my mother. My mother gave birth to my body. The party enlightens my mind." When I stayed in the guest house with these "rightist" comrades who had been rehabilitated, they often said to me with tears in their eyes: "We are back again in the house of our mother."

They also told me a story called "The Misfortune of a Colonel."

In 1948 when our People's Liberation Army had trapped and surrounded the enemy forces in such big cities as Changchun and Shengyang, an enemy army colonel who was an aide-de-camp in charge of classified war plans at the command headquarters of Zheng Dongguo secretly joined the Chinese Communist Party. Before the battle of Shengyang broke out, Zheng Dongguo ordered him to fly to Nanjing to deliver a top secret war plan. Risking his life, he stopped at Beijing to duplicate a copy of the document which he sent to Yanan through our underground party organization. This contributed heavily to our victory in the battle of Shengyang. Later, however, he lost contact with the party and had to hide in Beijing. He joined the Liberation Army when Beijing was liberated. During the anti-rightist campaign, he responded to the call of the party and took part in the drive "to let one hundred schools of thought contend." Speaking out to a cell meeting, he expressed his personal views about the work of his unit. As a result, he was suddenly branded a rightist, a Kuomintang right winger. Stripped of his party membership and demoted, he was sent

back to his native village in Shanxi to work in a factory. Having sustained such a deadly blow, he felt confused and disillusioned. The incident made his poor health even worse, so much so that he had to enter a hospital. But his comrades did not desert him. Instead, they encouraged him to overcome the double tragedy. Moved by the support given him by his comrades, he wrote a touching verse: "O My Party, my dear mother, there will be day when I will return to your house!" Now he has come back, old, face full of wrinkles and hair completely white. When he was pronounced rehabilitated and won back his party membership and grade, he wrote again and chanted with bursting emotion: "A wandering child happily returns to his mother's house!" Then he told his old colleagues a story about himself. He said he did not have any children until a year ago, at the age of 60, when his wife gave birth to a healthy big boy. The story was such a delight to his colleagues that they congratulated him: "Big news, having a child at the age of 60!" He responded: "It's also big news to return to my mother at the age of 60."

There was another old comrade, old, thin and hunchbacked. He had lost all his teeth and cannot speak clearly. Wearing a black cotton padded jacket, he looked like a simple peasant, but nobody can tell by his appearance that he is a highly educated man, an authority on Chinese literature. In 1947 when the reactionary Kuomintang government ordered his arrest for a leading role he played in a student movement, he managed to escape to our revolutionary base. At the time of the anti-rightist campaign, he was a probationary party member. Later when the party began a drive "to let one school of thought contend," he remained silent because he thought he had nothing worth saying. One evening a local party leader came to his house to chat with him, encouraging him to open his heart to the party, examine his own thinking and have faith in the party organization. Assured of the support of the party, he spoke out his inner thought and explored some individualist ideas left in his mind. Two days later he was suddenly pronounced a rightist. Surprised and confused, he was at loss to figure out what he was charged with. He found out later that the unit he belonged to had failed to identify enough rightists to meet a quota assigned by its upper echelon and had to look for more rightists to fulfill the quota. He happened to score better as a rightist than the rest. So the local party leader decided to trap him. That was how he lost his probationary party membership and was dispatched from Beijing to a factory in the Northeast to weigh coal. Ten years later when his health deteriorated, he was made a door keeper, a position he held for 10 more years. Now he tells everybody in the guest house: "I had loafed for 20 years. Now the party wants to take care of me. But what can I do? Even though I am not yet 60, I am a sick man."

In spite of poor health, he still keeps himself busy. The moment he got to the guest house, he began to work as a voluntary guide for the newcomers, helping them locate their bedrooms and the lavatory and assist the presiding comrade of the rehabilitation session. His tiny figure, thin and hunchbacked, dominates the whole scene....

How sincere and honest they are! Aren't they the most loyal fighters of our party?

Anxiety Amidst Joy

When I was with these comrades, I felt overwhelmed by their joy and happiness. It was spring time and the soothing breeze helped accentuate this happy feeling. Twenty years of misfortune had taught these comrades to be more reserved and yet more broadminded. But I noticed they show some kind of deep-seated concern in spite of their joy....

In 1957 a certain educated man who had joined the army right after the liberation was suddenly branded a rightist, stripped of his job and ordered out of Beijing. Without a stable job, he traveled from one plant to another and from one farm to another. Finally he was given a job in a local factory in Shanxi. Even though he was the best skilled worker of the entire plant, they dared not hire him officially because he had been branded a rightist and stripped of a position assigned him by the government (branding of rightists stopped in 1962). When the work to redress grievances began here, the party organization in Beijing located him and wrote to the Xian party committee concerned to ask the man to return to Beijing to air his grievances. As he failed to appear several days after the check-in time, the cadre in charge contacted that Xian party committee by long distance call, asking whether it had received the notification and notified the man in question. While acknowledging receipt of the notification, its answer was evasive, pleading that due to pressure of work, the man just cannot manage to leave. It proposed to send a responsible cadre to Beijing on his behalf. This was rejected by a cadre in charge of the rehabilitation work who threatened to bring the case to the provincial party committee. It was only after this warning that the Xian party committee finally agreed to let him leave for Beijing. After he arrived in Beijing, he said they did not tell him about the notification, nor did they drop any hint. His account made everybody furious. But this is not the only case of the kind. One comrade cut in to say: "Listen, let me tell you another strange case. When I got the notification from here, I took it to the train station to buy a ticket. They refused to sell me the ticket on strength of the notification which they considered contrary to the rulings of the State Council." Another comrade who had been rehabilitated said: "Once you're rehabilitated, actual assignment of jobs is still a big problem." This comrade, they say, knows English, French and Japanese and used to do translations. Now, having been rehabilitated, he still does not have a stable job. They all agree the purpose of rehabilitation is to activate the enthusiasm of those rehabilitated and make them more willing to apply their know-how to help the four modernizations. But rehabilitation and restitution of party membership and grades represent only a partial implementation of the policy to redress injustice. Moreover "will there be another anti-rightist campaign to put the branding on us which had been removed?" "Will fruitful production and material affluence 20 years hence lead to a different arrangement of priorities?" "Now, we are promoting proletarian democracy. Will there be another drive 'to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat' on a latter occasion?" These are the kind of discussions I used to listen to all the time.

My report covers only the true conditions at the time, and I hope these few lines can give you all a glimpse of the thinking of those old "rightists." Today the warmth of spring has helped break the ice. Even though there will be more cold waves, the beauty of spring time is irresistible. This generation of people, tempered by 20 years of hardship, will not permit the good earth of the fatherland and minds of the people to succumb to an everlasting winter.

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